

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 NSC-05 DODE-00 CIAE-00 PM-04

INR-07 L-03 ACDA-05 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

USIA-06 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 CU-02 H-02 EB-07 /074 W

----- 054047

R 201505Z SEP 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3677

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 5499

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION US BERLIN UNN

AMEMBASSY BERN

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY VALLETTA

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 5150

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, US, UR, FR, CSCE

SUBJ: ALLIANCE ROLE IN CSCE IMPLEMENTATION

REF: A. STATE 205169

B. USNATO 4557

C. STATE 191457

D. STATE 222169

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SUMMARY: IN SEPTEMBER 19 NAC, ALLIES ENDORSED US PROPOSAL FOR
NATO ROLE IN CSCE IMPLEMENTATION THAT WILL BOTH MEET NEEDS OF
INDIVIDUAL ALLIES AND EXACT MAXIMUM UP COMPLIANCE.FRENCH, THOUGH
THEY REPEATED EARLIER CONCERNS (REF B), THOUGHT US AND FRENCH

VIEWS COULD BE READILY HARMONIZED AND DID NOT OBJECT TO LUNS' MANDATE TO POLADS TO DEVELOP IMPLEMENTATION GUIDELINES ALONG LINES OF US PROPOSAL. AMBASSADOR BRUCE INFORMED ALLIES OF FAVORABLE DEVELOPMENTS IN US EFFORTS SEEK MULTIPLE ENTRY/EXIT VISAS FOR US CORRESPONDENTS RESIDENT IN MOSCOW. END SUMMARY.

1. IN OPENING SEPTEMBER 19 NAC DISCUSSION ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION, SYG LUNS ASKED ALLIES TO WORK TOGETHER TO ELICIT MAXIMUM WP COMPLIANCE WITH THOSE CSCE FINAL ACT PROVISIONS OF MAJOR INTEREST TO THE WEST. ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS WOULD ADVANCE THIS CAUSE AND HELP ALLIES PREPARE FOR THE 1977 BELGRADE CONFERENCE. NATO CONSULTATIONS HAD MADE A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION DURING CSCE PHASES I AND II AND HAD ALREADY PLAYED A KEY PART IN COORDINATING ALLIANCE COMPLIANCE WITH THE CBM PROVISIONS. LUNS CALLED ATTENTION TO A US PAPER (DRAWN FROM REFS A AND B) CLARIFYING PROPOSALS CONTAINED IN MISSION'S LETTER OF AUGUST 18 (PARA 1, REF A).

2. AMBASSADOR BRUCE ALSO URGED ALLIES TO WORK TOGETHER IN SEEKING MAXIMUM WP COMPLIANCE WITH THE HELSINKI RESULTS BY EXTENDING INTO OTHER AREAS USEFUL WORK ALREADY DONE ON CBMS. ALLIES SHOULD, AS THEY DEEM NECESSARY, EXCHANGE INFORMATION IN APPROPRIATE ALLIANCE FORA ON THEIR SUCCESSES, FAILURES AND THEIR REQUESTS FOR HELP IN SEEKING IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CSCE FINAL ACT. SUCH CONSULTATIONS AND COORDINATION WILL BE IMPORTANT IN PREPARING FOR THE 1977 BELGRADE CONFERENCE. AMBASSADOR BRUCE NOTED THAT THE US WAS NOT CALLING FOR OBLIGATORY EXCHANGES OR PRE-COORDINATION ON EACH AND EVERY BILATERAL UNDERTAKING WITH THE EAST ON CSCE COMPLIANCE.

3. PER STATE 222169, AMBASSADOR BRUCE ALSO ADVISED ALLIES OF SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME OF US EFFORTS TO MEET MULTIPLE ENTRY VISA REQUIREMENTS OF US JOURNALISTS RESIDENT IN USSR.

4. AMBASSADOR CATALANO (ITALY), WHO SPOKE ALSO FOR THE CONFIDENTIAL

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EC-NINE, WELCOMED US PROPOSAL AS A MEANS FOR MEETING ALLIANCE NEEDS AS SET FORTH BY LUNS AND AMBASSADOR BRUCE. CATALANO SAID EC APPRECIATED THE FACT THAT US CLEARLY RECOGNIZED CONTINUING EC ROLE IN FURTHER COORDINATION ON CSCE, AND ADDED THAT NINE HAD DECIDED TO SET UP A WORKING GROUP ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION. AS IN PAST, NINE LOOKED FORWARD TO COORDINATION BETWEEN NINE AND FIFTEEN, BUT AGREED THAT NEITHER NINE NOR FIFTEEN SHOULD SEEK TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON EACH AND EVERY DETAIL OF THEIR BILATERAL IMPLEMENTATION EFFORTS. CATALANO STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF NATO COORDINATION ROLE IN DENYING TO SOVIETS OPPORTUNITY TO PLAY ALLIES OFF AGAINST EACH OTHER ON CSCE FOLLOW-UP ATTEMPTS. ALLIED LEADERS SHOULD BE ESPECIALLY ALERT TO EASTERN WEDGE-DRIVING TACTICS IN THEIR BILATERAL CONTACTS WITH WP COUNTERPARTS.

5. AMBASSADOR SVART (DENMARK) NOTED THAT DANISH FOREIGN MINISTER HAD DISCUSSED IMPORTANCE OF COORDINATING WESTERN CSCE FOLLOW-UP EFFORTS WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER AT HELSINKI. ALLIED COOPERATION DURING PHASE II CLEARLY DEMONSTRATED UTILITY OF THESE EFFORTS AS WELL AS NEED FOR CONTINUING CONSULTATION BETWEEN THE NORTH AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN ALLIES WHICH DANES SEE AS NECESSARY LINK FOR PROJECTING SUCCESSFUL COOPERATION AT GENEVA INTO THE POST-HELSINKI PERIOD. DANES ALSO FELT ACTIVE NATO FOLLOW-UP ROLE IN CSCE IMPORTANT FOR DEMONSTRATING CONTINUING ALLIANCE INTEREST IN DETENTE.

6. AMBASSADOR PECK (UK) ALSO WELCOMED US APPROACH AND AGREED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT FORGE ABSOLUTE IDENTITY OF VIEWS ON EACH CSCE IMPLEMENTATION INITIATIVE BEFORE IT IS PRESENTED TO EAST. RATHER, ALLIANCE EFFORTS SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON COLLECTING AND ASSESSING IMPLEMENTATION DATA AND SETTING COMMON STANDARDS. IN THIS, NATO/IS CAN BE HELPFUL; PARTICULARLY SINCE SIMILAR EC MACHINERY DOES NOT EXIST. PECK SAW POSSIBLE UTILITY IN COUNCIL MEETINGS EVERY TWO OR THREE MONTHS TO REVIEW COMPLIANCE EFFORTS WITH POLADS MAINTAINING THEIR CURRENT EFFORTS TO COORDINATE AND MONITOR CMB COMPLIANCE.

7. FRENCH CHARGE (DE LA FERRIERE) REHEARSED VIEW (USNATO 4557) THAT, WITH CSCE CONCLUDED, IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT SHOULD NOT BE THE SUBJECT OF FURTHER MULTI-CONFIDENTIAL

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LATERAL CONSULTATIONS BUT SHOULD BE UNDERTAKEN IN A BILATERAL CONTEXT. FRENCH BELIEVED IT PREMATURE TO PREPARE NOW FOR THE 1977 REVIEW CONFERENCE, BUT BELIEVED SUCH PREPARATIONS WOULD ULTIMATELY BE USEFUL. FRENCH THOUGHT US PROPOSAL CONTAINED MANY HELPFUL ELEMENTS AND THOUGHT US AND FRENCH POSITIONS COULD BE HARMONIZED. FRANCE WAS PARTICULARLY GLAD TO SEE EXPLICIT US RECOGNITION BOTH OF IMPORTANCE OF BILATERAL CSCE COMPLIANCE EFFORTS AND OF EC CONSULTATIVE EFFORTS PARALLEL TO THOSE OF NATO. FRANCE BELIEVED NATO COULD USEFULLY EXCHANGE CSCW COMPLIANCE INFORMATION BUT SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT ESTABLISH OF COMMON POSITIONS SINCE THESE WOULD LEAD TO "LOWEST COMMON DENOMINATOR" NEGOTIATING APPROACH WITH EAST. ALLIES SHOULD, HOWEVER, CONSULT TO AVOID EXPLOITABLE CONTRADICTIONS IN THEIR POSITIONS. RECOGNIZING THAT SOME GOVERNMENTS WILL FEEL NEED TO BRING IMPORTANT CASES TO THE COUNCIL, FRANCE BELIEVED SUCH SESSIONS SHOULD BE RESERVED FOR MAJOR ISSUES. ALLIES SHOULD ALSO CONTINUE WORK ON CBM COORDINATION.

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 NSC-05 DODE-00 CIAE-00 PM-04

INR-07 L-03 ACDA-05 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

USIA-06 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 CU-02 H-02 EB-07 /074 W

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R 201505Z SEP 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3678

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 5500

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION US BERLIN UNN

AMEMBASSY BERN

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY VALLETTA

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 5150

8. AMBASSADOR KRAPF (FRG) DISAGREED WITH FRENCH VIEW THAT CSCE WAS NOW CONCLUDED GIVEN RECENT WP CRITICISM OF NATO MANEUVER NOTIFICATIONS AND MASS MEDIA ATTEMPTS TO DEMONSTRATE THAT CSCE ADVANCES THE CLASS STRUGGLE. WP MEDIA HAVE ALSO CONSISTENTLY STRESSED INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS THEME WITHOUT ANY REFERENCE TO POSSIBILITY OF PEACEFUL CHANGE. FRG BELIEVES FRENCH AND US VIEWS ON NATO ROLE CAN BE ACCOMMODATED AND KRAPF URGED POOLING OF ALLIED COMPLIANCE INFORMATION
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SO THAT ALLIES COULD PROCEED BILATERALLY ON BASIS OF SHARED KNOWLEDGE. BONN SAW URGENT NEED FOR EXCHANGE OF INFO ON WP MANEUVERS SINCE IT SEEMED EASTERN COUNTRIES WERE TAKING STEPS TO ESCAPE NEED TO NOTIFY BY KEEPING MANEUVERS AT JUST BELOW 25,000 PARTICIPANTS.

9. LUNS AGREED WITH GERMAN CONCERNS AND NOTED THAT SOVIET RESPONSE TO NATO'S "GENEROSITY" IN POLICY OF FORTHCOMING

MANUEVERS NOTIFICATIONS HAD BEEN COMPLETELY AGAINST THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE HELSINKI SUMMIT. LUNS WONDERED IF A CORRECTIVE NATO PRESS RELEASE MIGHT BE CALLED FOR AT SOME POINT IN THE FUTURE.

10. AMONG IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF OTHER REMARKS, ALL OF WHICH FAVORED US PROPOSAL, CANADIAN CHARGE (BACON) RECOMMENDED THAT NEUTRALS AND NON-ALIGNED NOT BE EXCLUDED FROM INDIVIDUAL NATO COUNTRIES' EFFORTS TO PURSUE CSCE COMPLIANCE SINCE THESE COUNTRIES HAD GENERALLY SUPPORTED PRO-WESTERN POSITIONS IN STAGE II NEGOTIATIONS. THEY RECOMMENDED BILATERAL CONSULTATION WITH THE NEUTRALS. CANADIANS ALSO PROPOSED THAT POLADS ASSUME GENERAL MONITORING RESPONSIBILITY FOR ITEMS IN CSCE BASKETS I AND III AND THAT ECONADS KEEP BASKET II RESULTS UNDER CONTINUING REVIEW; AND THAT NATO MIGHT WANT TO PREPARE SEMI-ANNUAL REPORTS ON CSCE COMPLIANCE FOR PRESENTATION AT MINISTERIAL MEETINGS. IN WELCOMING US PROPOSAL, NORWEGIAN REP (BUSCH) NOTED THAT YUGOSLAVS WERE ALREADY ANXIOUS TO BEGIN PREPARATIONS FOR BELGRADE REVIEW CONFERENCE AND SUGGESTED HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD DISCUSS THIS WITH YUGOSLAV FOREIGN MINISTER WHO WILL VISIT NORWAY IN NOVEMBER. BELGIAN (DE STAERCKE) AND DUTCH (HARTOGH) AMBASSADORS STRESSED US INITIATIVE WAS IN FULL SPIRIT OF THE ATLANTIC DECLARATION'S PARA 11. GREEK PERMREP (THEODOROPOULOS) SUPPORTED US PROPOSAL SINCE, AMONG OTHER THINGS, IT WOULD HELP ALLIES PREPARE TO DEAL WITH POSSIBLE SOVIET PROPOSAL ON ASIAN SECURITY AND COOPERATION. AMBASSADORS FISCHBACK (LUXEMBOURG) AND TOMASSON (ICELAND), WHO RARELY SPEAK IN COUNCIL, ALSO JOINED IN SUPPORTING US INITIATIVE.

11. IN CLOSING DISCUSSION, LUNS SUGGESTED THAT THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE DRAFT GUIDELINES FOR NATO CSCE COMPLIANCE EFFORTS TAKING INTO ACCOUNT VIEWS EXPRESSED BY US AND OTHER ALLIES.

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12. COMMENT: PRIOR TO NAC DISCUSSION, FRENCH CHARGE TOLD US INFORMALLY OF HIS INSTRUCTIONS TO SUPPORT THE US POSITION. HOWEVER, HE SAID THAT GOF CONTINUED TO OPPOSE MULTILATERAL CONSULTATIONS ON CSCE FOLLOW-UP, AND EVEN IN RECENT MEETING OF EC-NINE POLITICAL DIRECTORS HAD ONLY GRUDGINGLY AGREED TO ESTABLISHMENT OF A NINE GROUP TO CONTINUE DISCUSSIONS OF CSCE. GOF, HOWEVER, WOULD WELCOME US-FRENCH BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION, AND HE SAID THAT FRENCH INVITATION TO OPEN SUCH CONSULTATIONS HAD BEEN EXTENDED TO EMBASSY PARIS. WE TOLD DE LA FERRIERE WE WOULD REPORT THE FRENCH SUGGESTION. END COMMENT.BRUCE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 18 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 20 SEP 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: MartinML
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975NATO05150
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: NATO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t197509102/abbrzmco.tel
Line Count: 267
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: n/a
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: A. STATE 205169 B. USNATO 4557 C. STATE 191457 D. STATE 222169
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: MartinML
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <09 APR 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <24 SEP 2003 by MartinML>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ALLIANCE ROLE IN CSCE IMPLEMENTATION
TAGS: PFOR, NATO, US, UR, FR, CSCE
To: STATE INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS
BELGRADE
BERLIN
US BERLIN UNN
BERN
EC BRUSSELS

BUCHAREST
BUDAPEST
DUBLIN
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MADRID
NICOSIA
PRAGUE
SOFIA
STOCKHOLM
VALLETTA
VIENNA
WARSAW

Type: TE

Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006